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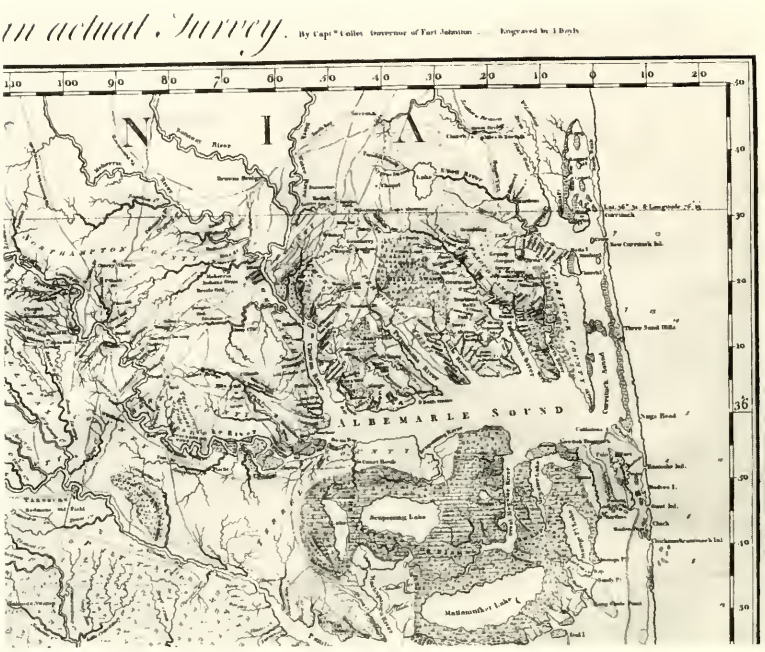


Figure 1. Detail of A Compleat Map of North Caroline from An Actual Survey by Captn. Collet, Governor of Fort Johnston....*line engraving on paper, engraved by I. Bayly, London, 1770. Collection of the Wachovia Historical Society, MESDA Research File (MRF) S-13,738.*

Foodways of the Albemarle Region: "Indulgent Nature Makes Up for Every Want."

Nancy Carter Crump

Heretofore any study of the development of southern foodways has focused primarily on the Chesapeake or further south to the Low Country around Charleston. The Albemarle region (fig. 1) has been unjustly neglected despite the fact that it could be called the cradle of culinary development in the South. It was here in the late sixteenth century that the foodways of Native Americans first met those of the earliest English explorers – foodways that later meshed at Jamestown to form the beginning of southern cuisine as we know it today. Those men that explored and later settled in the Albemarle and lower Chesapeake were fascinated by the well-organized Indian civilization they found there. These Native Americans, members of the Algonquian tribe, were primarily an agricultural society, and their methods of farming, hunting, fishing, preparing, and preserving their foods were carefully scrutinized and recorded by the Englishmen.

As time progressed in the Albemarle, other influences on the cuisine of the area became evident. Three distinct but overlapping cultures – Indian, white, and black – emerged in the region, centering on the land and the tasks that made it fruitful. The purpose of this study is to bring together documents from a number of early sources, thereby drawing attention to foodways of the Albemarle and acknowledging the contributions made to southern cuisine by the region's Native Americans and its transplanted settlers – both white and African-American.

Enthusiastic accounts of the earliest English explorers in the Albemarle region left no doubt that it was filled with an array

of foods and other natural resources that could easily sustain permanent settlement. While these descriptions were essentially promotional writings intended to stimulate colonization, the English explorers were sincere in their enthusiasm for the area and all it offered to potential settlers. According to Arthur Barlowe, who captained the second of two vessels sent by Sir Walter Raleigh to explore the southeast coastline of America in 1584, the soil was "the most plentiful, sweet, fruitful, and wholesome of all the world."[1] His narrative is one of many that provides documentation for the provender that was readily available in the coastal Albemarle area, then a part of Virginia. "The best of the world," he wrote, as he marveled at the "fatt Bucks, Hares, Fish, peas, and diverse roots."[2] Barlowe declared that "the earth bringeth forth all things in abundance, as in the first creation, without toile or labour."[3] In 1585, Sir Ralph Lane, who was a part of the ill-fated Roanoke expedition, added that the "pleasing territorie" contained the "goodliest soil under the cope of heaven."[4] The nearby waters teemed with scores of fish, including sturgeon, herring, drum, and mullet, as well as crabs, mussels, and oysters in plenty.

Thomas Hariot, a brilliant young mathematician, was another visitor to the Albemarle region in 1585. Regarded by many modern scholars as the first Anglo-American anthropologist, Hariot is an important source for early Indian foodways. He saw the Indians as noble savages "who represented the marvelous and exotic upon which [the seventeenth-century Europeans] could ponder."[5] Hariot's book, *A Briefe and True Report of the New found Land in Virginia*, published in 1588, provides a firsthand look at the Indians' diet, as well as their methods of preparing food. "Their meat is Maize . . . deers flesh or of some other beast, and fish," he wrote. "Their peas are far better than our English peas" prepared "either by boiling them all to pieces in a broth, or boiling them whole until they be soft and beginne to break as is used in England. . . . Sometime they mingle of the wheat [Hariot is referring to corn here] with them."[6]

As Hariot indicated, the Indians favored boiling their foods – certainly the easiest method – combining together all manner of vegetables, meats, and fish in a huge earthen pot set over an open wood fire, where it was replenished daily. They also broiled or roasted (fig. 2) many of the foods they consumed, techniques already familiar to their white observers. Arthur

Figure 2. Detail ("Fig. 8") from Description...of the Indians of Virginia, *ink and watercolor on paper, engraved by Henri Abraham after John White, Amsterdam, 1719. HOA 17 1/2", WOA 20 1/2". MESDA Accession (acc.) 4123. The translation for the French caption for this illustration begins "The Indians have two customs of cooking or grilling meat."*

Figure 3. Detail ("Fig. 14") from Description...of the Indians of Virginia *(see fig. 2). The caption for this illustration begins "When the Indians eat their meals, they sit on the ground on a mat and put the plate between their legs."*

Barlowe mentioned their large pots and said their dishes were "wooden platters of sweet timber." He described a meal (fig. 3) prepared for him by several Indian women that included "wheate [corn] like fermentie," boiled and roasted venison, fish that had been boiled and roasted, and a variety of boiled root vegetables, along with raw melons, and other fresh fruit.[7] "Fermentie" referred to frumenty, defined by Samuel Johnson as "Food made of wheat boiled in milk." Barlowe was using a term that would have been familiar to his English readers for a similar dish the Indians prepared using corn.

In 1607, the same abundance welcomed those settlers that established the first permanent English colony about 125 miles to the north at Jamestown. George Percy was with them, and he echoed the earlier praises of explorers. "This country is a fruitful soil bearing many goodly and fruitful trees," he observed.[8] He found a "great plenty of fish of all kinds," noting that the sturgeon was especially good. "All the world cannot be compared to it," Percy assured his readers.[9] Percy also acknowledged local Native Americans who had helped the Jamestown settlers survive the beginnings of colonization: "It pleased God, after a while, to send those people . . . to relieve us with victuals, as bread, corn, fish and flesh in great plenty . . . otherwise we had all perished."[10] The colonists were taught Indian methods of farming, planting, and harvesting crops. There is little doubt that the English settlement would have been much slower without the aid of Native Americans.

English housewives settling in the region adapted their own recipes (or "receipts" as they were then called) and techniques to New World living, taking their cue from Algonquian foodways. Absorbed into their own traditions were such foods as squash and new varieties of beans and maize. In many dishes, for example, cornmeal replaced familiar grains such as oats and wheat. Their own heritage was not lost, however, for those women who immigrated to the colony brought treasured family recipes with them along with the seeds of fruits, vegetables, herbs, and flowers that had been so much a part of their lives in the mother country.

Upon the arrival of African-American slaves on the North American continent in 1619, a third distinctive culinary style became part of the inchoate English-Native American cuisine that was slowly developing. Brought to the Americas from

numerous tribes located primarily along the Guinea coast, African women were skilled innovative cooks, many of whom arrived after years of bondage in the Caribbean Islands. There they were influenced by the heady Creole fare that had evolved from the merging of the islands' ethnic cuisines. Black cooks excelled in blending spices and other seasonings to create exotic sauces. Essential flavorings included ginger, saffron, thyme, sage, sweet basil, parsley, and especially shallot and hot pepper. Many of the foods now considered an integral part of southern cooking came with these women during this time. Among them were yams, peanuts, okra, watermelon, and black-eyed peas. These seasonings and foodstuffs, along with certain African cooking methods, particularly deep-fat frying, were incorporated by the colonists over time.

Within a few years, the Jamestown colonists had begun to venture farther south to the region surrounding the Albemarle Sound. John Pory, Secretary of the Virginia colony, led an expedition to the area in 1622. He found it fertile, "very fruitful and pleasant . . . yielding two harvests in a yeere."[11] Interest in settling the area increased, fueled by promotional literature that "concentrated on lauding the flora, fauna, climate, rich soil, and the abundance of crops."[12] By the middle of the seventeenth century, Virginians from the south side of the colony, including Surry, Isle of Wight, Nansemond, and Norfolk counties, were moving into the Albemarle region, first seeking arable land along the Chowan River on which to farm. Later settlers bargained with local Indians to purchase acreage bordering the Pasquotank and Perquimans rivers. According to John Lawson, writing in 1709, "Planters from Virginia, and other Plantations [found] mild winters and a fertile soil beyond expectation, producing everything that was planted to a prodigious increase . . . so that everything seemed to come by Nature."[13] An "educated gentleman and scientist, Lawson lived in the Carolinas . . . from 1700 to 1708/9," where he befriended the Native Americans.[14] Important to any study of North Carolina's Indian lifestyle is John Lawson's 1709 book, *A New Voyage to Carolina*, in which he contributed detailed observations on their foodways. He described, for instance, one visit to a Native American village, where

> they made us all welcome, showing a great deal of Joy at our coming, giving us barbecued Turkeys, Bear's Oil and

> Venison. We made ourselves as merry as we could, having a good Supper with the Scraps of Venison we had given us by the Indians, having killed three Teal and a Possum, which Medley, all together, made a curious Ragoo. At night we killed a Possum, [and] being Cloy'd with Turkey, made a dish of that, which tasted much between young Pork and Veal their fat being as white as any I ever saw.[15]

While possum was commonly eaten by the Indians, Lawson found it off-putting. "Their flesh is well tasted," he wrote, "but their ugly tails put me out of Conceit with that Fare."[16]

Lawson mentioned that the Indians used pigeon fat, seasoning beans or spreading it on their bread like butter.[17] He noted that nuts were an important part of their diet, particularly chinquapins and hickory nuts, which they gathered in "great Baskets" for winter use. They also beat hickory nuts into flour "betwixt two great Stones," and used it to thicken venison broth or combined it with chinquapins to make a "curious soup."[18] Another Native American staple meat that Lawson pronounced not only good but also nourishing was bear, the flesh of which resembled "the best pork in taste." He added: "The young cubs are a dish for the greatest epicure living, their fat being as white as Snow and the sweetest of any Creature in the World." It was preferred for frying foods, according to Lawson, and he asserted that bacon made from bear's meat was "extraordinary."[19]

Lawson described foods eaten by Native Americans that would have been unacceptable today: "Fawns in the Bags, cut out of the Doe's Belly," for instance, as well as "Squirrels roasted with their Guts in." "Young Wasps, when they are white in the Combs, before they can fly," were "esteemed a Dainty."[20] The Indians also consumed snakes, beaver, panther, pole-cat, raccoon, hares, venison, fowls of varying kinds, and seafood, along with all sorts of wild fruit, gourds, melons, cucumbers, squash, and beans.

Most important to the Native American diet was the ubiquitous Indian corn, "made into several sorts of Bread, Ears...roasted in the Summer, or preserved against Winter."[21] Maize was also vital to the survival of the white settlers during the colonial period, for not only did it have a diversity of uses, but it provided a year-round staple that could be eaten fresh or dried for later use in baking and cooking. It was considered by many to be particularly healthful. As Lawson wrote, "those that

have been forced to live wholly upon it...prove that it is the most nourishing Grain for a Man to subsist on without any other Victuals."[22]

The way in which the colony developed is important to understanding the history of North Carolina's foodways. From the beginning, North Carolina was strikingly different from her sister colonies, Virginia and South Carolina. In the Albemarle region, geographic conditions, coupled with rural isolation prohibited the emergence of any large port city. Edenton, situated at the mouth of the Chowan River, became the only town of importance in the area. In addition, the proportion of middling and poor whites was unusually large for a Southern colony. While slavery was important to the colony's social and economic growth, it seems never to have played as vital a role as in Virginia and South Carolina. No doubt this can be attributed to the colony's white population, which, again unlike its neighbors, remained primarily one of yeoman farmers who owned few, if any, slaves. The gentry class that did emerge was neither as rich nor as numerous its counterparts along the James River or in the South Carolina indigo and rice country.

In order to maintain a political grip on the colony, North Carolina's upper class accommodated the yeomanry very differently. While the elite of South Carolina and Virginia distanced themselves socially from other classes with a pretentious display of power and wealth, gentry in the Albemarle downplayed rank and social status and avoided ostentation. The lifestyle was more informal, with a casual approach that eased the rigid lines of class distinction. This was often commented upon by visitors to the colony during the eighteenth century. John Lawson, for instance, noted that unlike the strict laws that existed in England, there were no restrictions on hunting game in North Carolina. "A poor laborer that is master of his gun," Lawson wrote, "hath as good a claim to have continued courses of delicacies upon his table, as he that is master of a great purse." In the Albemarle, "a pragmatic unpretentiousness shared by rich and poor alike . . . shaped Carolina's social development for decades."[23]

The themes of abundance, of fertile soil with its resulting plenty, continued to play as the colony developed. "The inhabitants of Carolina," John Lawson said, "through the richness of the soil, live an easy and pleasant life."[24] Shortly before the

Revolution, a Scottish woman named Janet Schaw visited North Carolina. Writing to a relative back home, she said, "I do assure you that every gift of nature is here."[25] According to Dr. John Brickell, an Edenton physician writing in 1737, occupants of the Albemarle region could count on a diet consisting "chiefly of Beef, mutton, pork, venison, wild and tame fowl, fish, roots, fruit, several kinds of sallads, good bread, butter, milk, cheese, rice, and Indian corn."[26]

Corn remained the principal crop – the mainstay eaten by everyone, rich and poor – and over time, travelers commented on its importance to Albemarle diets. Naturalist Mark Catesby recorded: "This is the native grain of America, from whence other parts of the world were at first supplied ....The largest is cultivated in Virginia and Carolina....This grain is of most general use, and is eat, not only by the Negro slaves, but by the generality of white people." Catesby described several methods of preparing corn, but emphasized that boiling the grain to make hominy was the method "more in esteem than any other preparation of this grain."[27] In 1837, Harriet Martineau wrote in her book, *Travels in America*, which ridiculed the young nation's customs: "It was amusing to hear the praises of corn....more valuable....than gold and silver....A man who has corn may have everything. He can sow his land with it; and for the rest, everything eats corn, from slave to chick."[28]

White corn was preferred in North Carolina. It "was the corn of my childhood," Catherine Devereux Edmondston, a nineteenth-century resident of Halifax, North Carolina, recorded in her journal. "White is the only corn fit for bread, and as you look at a pile of it ....an unconfessed association of snowy hominy and white crumbling bread comes over you, and you already smell and taste the appetizing pone....White corn for me!"[29] Mrs. Edmonston's journal provides a firsthand look at life in the Albemarle region in the years before and during the Civil War. Mrs. Edmondston's appreciation for the grain was almost lyrical, going far beyond its virtue as a food staple. As the harvest neared, she wrote, "There is something inexpressibly touching to me in this waiting time of the year, this golden autumn, where corn stands with bended head, its work accomplished, its growth over, in meek expectation of the hour – when ripened by Time the whole purpose of its creation shall have been fulfilled and [it] is ready for the food of man!"[30]

Other crops thrived in the Albemarle region. Kitchen gardens were especially important. As the Virginia historian Robert Beverley said, "They have all the Culinary Plants that grow in England, and in far greater perfection."[31] Garden vegetables, including carrots, asparagus, leeks, parsnips, turnips, radishes, beets, and potatoes were grown, along with salad greens such as lettuce, cabbages, spinach, fennel, sorrel, cresses, and parsley. Potherbs, vital for seasoning during the period, included angelica, balm, borage, burnett, marigold, marjoram, both kinds of savory, thyme, basil, rosemary, coriander, and mint. Grains and beans of many varieties were plentiful, as were sweet potatoes seen by Mark Catesby as the most useful root vegetable in Virginia and Carolina. He wrote, "they are a great support to the Negroes they are no small part of a planter's crops, everyone planting a patch, or enclosed field, in proportion to the numbers of his slaves."[32]

Numerous fruits were available in the Albemarle region throughout the eighteenth century. John Brickell described four different types of huckleberries, one of which was dried for use in cakes, puddings, and minced pies as a replacement for currants and raisins. The Indians, Brickell said, would preserve the berries for winter, "whereof they make Bread mixed with Indian corn meal, like our plum cakes." He recommended the papaw tree, saying that the ripe fruit was "as soft and sweet as any Fruit can be . . . the planters make puddings, tarts, and many other dishes of the fruit."[33] Mark Catesby listed apple, pear, plum, cherry, and peach trees, saying that they were "of such abundance in Carolina and Virginia . . . that one would be inclined to think them spontaneous."[34] Other fruits he mentioned included raspberries, strawberries, blackberries, mulberries, quince, figs, and grapes. A number of these were indigenous to the region, found there when it was first settled by Europeans.

Pork was another staple commodity produced in the Albemarle region in the eighteenth century, considered to be better than any found in Europe. Salted or fresh, it was one of the colony's principal items of export. Hogs were easy to raise, affordable to all classes. They were able to forage in the woods or nearby swamps, where they devoured mast, wild grains, and fruit. The result was notable. North Carolinians, in fact, made pork so much of a part of their daily diet that over time, they

earned the nickname Porkers. In 1728, Virginian William Byrd wryly commented: "The truth of it is, these people live so much upon swine's flesh that it . . . makes them extremely hoggish in their temper . . . many of them seem to grunt rather than speak in their ordinary conversation."[35] Even nineteenth-century writers noted its popularity. Henry Barnard, visiting from the North in 1833, complained about it. "Bacon, bacon, bacon is set before you morning, noon, and night!" he groaned.[36] Beef, veal, and domestic fowl, added to the plentiful food supply, along with offerings from the wild.

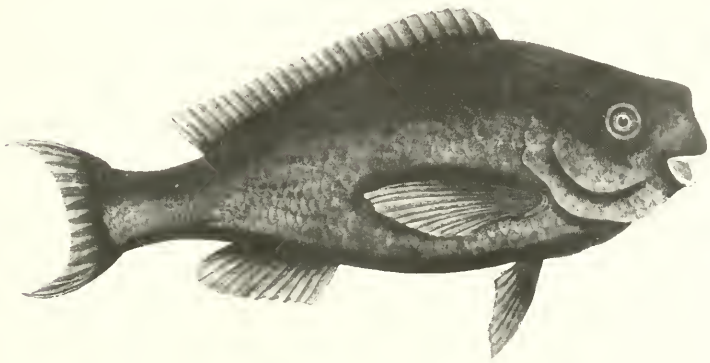


Figure 4. Illustration of a blue fish from Volume I of the third edition of Mark Catesby's The Natural History of Carolina Florida, and the Bahama Islands....*London, 1771. MESDA acc. 1012.1.*

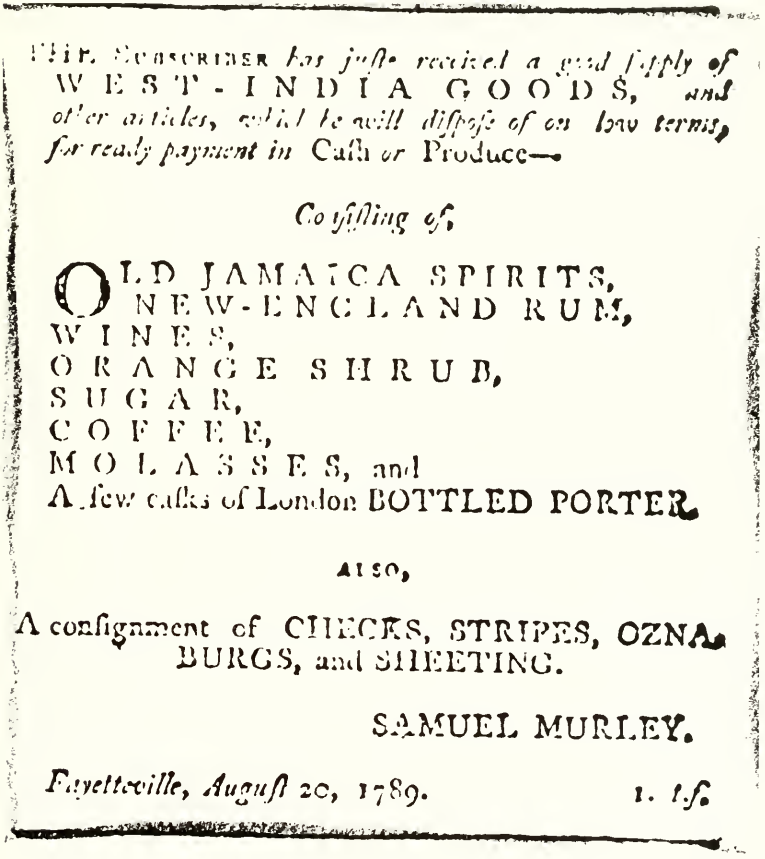
Seafood was plentiful along the coasts and rivers. John Lawson and Mark Catesby are among those who provide documentation as well as recommendations for preparing fish such as Spanish mackerel, bluefish (fig. 4), red and black drum, carp, trout, and herring. Lawson noted that the heads of rockfish were soused and were "a noble dish."[37] Sturgeon was especially popular and apparently served several purposes. Recipes were provided for them and they were a welcome delicacy on North Carolina tables. Anne Cameron, for instance,

recorded one given her by her sister, a Mrs. Roulac: "I have a receipt for dressing sturgeon but sometimes I just boil it changing the Water once or twice and it requires a good deal of boiling, and [?] I [bake?] it which is the richst way - Parboil it and then stuff it with bread, bacon and herbs and salt, pepper, and bake it."[38] "The bones of these fish make good nutmeg graters," John Lawson said, and Dr. Brickell added, "Their bones serve...for rasps or graters to grate nutmegs, bread, and the like." This may have been a custom learned from local Indians, although it could just as easily have been brought from England."[39]

There were ample amounts of shellfish and eels, the latter being especially well liked. Dr. Brickell described the conger as "white, fat, and [with] sweet flesh, which nourishes to excess." He informed his readers that eels were "best when first boiled in water, sweet herbs, and spices, then broiled or collared...then they are exceeding good meat."[40] Collaring was a popular method of preparation whereby meat or fish was tied up in a roll and then cooked. Hannah Glasse, E. Smith, and other writers of the period included many receipts for collaring in their cookbooks.

The provender so readily available in the Albemarle, together with its geographic isolation, promoted a casual lifestyle that many visitors found less than attractive. The poorer classes were seen as especially lazy, content to eke out a living on corn and pork "in the most slovenly manner." William Byrd described one poor white at Currituck Inlet who lived chiefly on oysters: "He has just industry enough to gather [them] from the neighboring oyster banks, while his concubine makes a practice of driving up the neighbor's cows for the advantage of their milk."[41] Further inland Byrd was surprised to see only a few cornfields on the region's fertile lands. He was further taken aback to learn that the locals grew only enough corn for their own consumption. "Both cattle and hogs ramble into the neighboring marshes and swamps," he wrote, "where they maintain themselves the whole winter long and are not fetched home till the spring. Thus these indolent wretches [Byrd is referring to the local residents] during one half the year lose the advantage of the milk of these cattle." Byrd was obviously incensed by "this ill management," calling the practice "bad husbandry."[42]

The gentry too were often seen as indolent. "This easy way of living and the heat of the summer makes some very lazy, who are then said to be climate-struck," Hugh Jones had said of Virginians, a statement just as applicable to North Carolinians. And John Lawson said, "The planter sits contented at home....The fatted Porkets and Poultry are easily raised to his table and his orchard affords him liquor, so that he eats and drinks away the cares of the world, and desires no greater happiness than that which he daily enjoys."[45]



THE SUBSCRIBER *has just received a good supply of* WEST-INDIA GOODS, *and other articles, which he will dispose of on low terms, for ready payment in* Cash *or* Produce—

Consisting of

OLD JAMAICA SPIRITS,
NEW-ENGLAND RUM,
WINES,
ORANGE SHRUB,
SUGAR,
COFFEE,
MOLASSES, and
A few casks of London BOTTLED PORTER.

ALSO,

A consignment of CHECKS, STRIPES, OZNABURGS, and SHEETING.

SAMUEL MURLEY.

Fayetteville, August 20, 1789. 1. tf.

Figure 5. A number of advertisements in eastern North Carolina papers listed spirits and other items imported from the West Indies. Fayetteville Gazette, *9 September 1789.*

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William Byrd attributed much of the colony's inertia to rum, "which like gin in Great Britain," he said, "breaks the constitution, vitiates the morals, and ruins the industry to most."[44] Indeed, Carolinians were noted for their consumption of various alcoholic beverages. John Brickell also described the excessive drinking that went on among men of all classes:

> I have frequently seen them come to the Towns, and there remain drinking Rum, Punch, and other Liquors for Eight or Ten Days successively, and after they have committed this excess, will not drink any Spirituous Liquor, 'til such times as they take the next Frolick, as they call it, which generally in two or three months....But among the better Sort....It sits quite otherwise....having plenty of Wine, Rum, and other Liquors at their own Houses, which they generously make use of amongst their Friends."[45]

Many spirits were imported (fig. 5), not only from foreign countries, but from colonies to the north. Rum seems to have been the most popular, so much so that North Carolinians eventually felt compelled to make their own. As early as 1787, rum distilleries were established in North Carolina, and by the mid-nineteenth century, the state was producing more than a million gallons yearly.

From rum a number of mixed drinks, including eggnog, toddies, and punch, were made. "Most of the rum they get....comes from New England," wrote William Byrd. "It is distilled there from foreign molasses, [called] 'long sugar' in Carolina....When they entertain their friends....they fail not to set before them a capacious bowl of bombo....a compound of rum and water in equal parts, made palatable with the said long sugar. As good humor begins to flow and the bowl to ebb they take care to replenish it with sheer rum, of which there always is a reserve."[46] Eggnog and other spirits were commonly served before breakfast. William Attmore, a Philadelphian who visited in North Carolina in 1789, enjoyed eggnog enough to jot down the receipt in his journal:

> This compound is made in the following manner: In two clean Quart Bowls, were divided the Yolks and whites of Five Eggs, the yolks & whites separated, the Yolks beat up with a Spoon, and mixt up with brown Sugar, the whites were whisk'd into Froth by a Straw Whisk till the Straw wou'd stand upright in it; when duly beat, the Yolks were

put to the Froth; again beat a long time; then half a pint of Rum pour'd slowly into the mixture, the whole kept stirring the whole time till well incorporated.[47]

Ellen Mordecai described an 1815 gathering where before dinner, "a large bowl of toddy was made and handed first to the ladies and then to the gentlemen, each and all drinking from the same vessel."[48]

Figure 6. Cellaret, Roanoke River basin, 1780-1800. Walnut with elm cock beading and inlay and yellow pine. HOA 33 5/8", WOA 19", DOA 14". MESDA acc. 950.20. MESDA has recorded more than thirty-five cellarets from eastern North Carolina, mainly from the Roanoke River basin area of the Albemarle, an interesting commentary on the popularity of alcohol in that area.

Figure 7. Cellaret, attributed to the "WH" cabinetmaker, Roanoke River basin, 1790-1800. Walnut with yellow pine, walnut, and poplar. HOA 35", WOA 22 1/4", DOA 17 1/4". MESDA acc. 2908.

An account book kept between 22 November 1771 and 9 May 1772 by George Blair, an Edenton merchant, verifies the narratives above. During this short period, some 238 orders for rum are listed, ranging from quarts to gallons. There also were orders for wines, as well as quantities of molasses and sugar.

Estate inventories further confirm the heavy consumption of alcoholic beverages in the Albemarle region. An array of decanters; bottle stands; cellarets, or cases of bottles (figs. 6 and 7); toddy, wine (fig. 8), and beer glasses; tankards; and flasks were listed, as well as spirits of varying kinds. Thirty-six punch bowls were listed in fourteen inventories, along with ladles, strainers, and squeezers for extracting the lemon or lime juice that was an essential ingredient in traditional punch receipts. Colonel Simon Bryan's 1753 inventory, for instance, had seven china and "delph" punch bowls (fig. 9); that of Mary Berry (1771) was even more extensive, with five punch bowls, a ladle, two strainers, and a lime squeezer.[49]

Figure 8. Wine glass, blown glass, English, 1750-55. MESDA acc. 4098.2. Wine flutes and glasses such as this example probably were among the types imported to North Carolina.

Figure 9. Punch bowl, delftware, English, perhaps Lambeth, 1680-1700. Diameter 11 3/4". MESDA acc. 1089.1. Punch bowls were popular items in the Albemarle, and early delft examples like this example were listed in Albemarle inventories.

North Carolinians brewed a number of their own alcoholic beverages for home use. John Brickell noted some of these:

> The following are made in County, viz. Cyder, Persimmon-Beer, made of the Fruit of That Tree...they also make Beer of the green Stalks of *Indian-Corn*...they likewise make Beer of Mollosses, or common Treacle, in the following manner, they take a Gallon of Mollosses, a Peck of Wheaten Bran, a Pound of Hops, and a Barrel of Fountain water, which they boile together, and work up with Yest, as we do our Malt Liquors; this is their common Small-Beer, and seems to me to be the pleasantest Drink I ever tasted.[50]

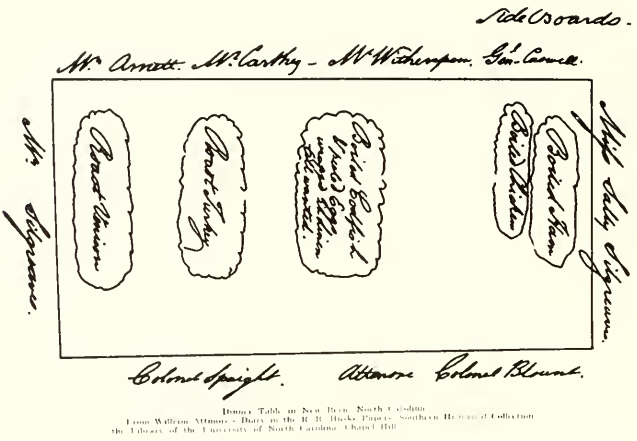
Other home-brewed spirits included brandy; peach brandy was a special favorite.

Other writers also took note of the beer made from persimmons mentioned by Brickell. "Of these some *Virtuosi* make an agreeable kind of Beer, to which Purpose they dry them in Cakes, and lay them up for Use," Robert Beverley noted, and William Byrd found the result a "very pleasant and healthful drink."[51] It was still being made into the mid-nineteenth century, by blacks at least, and receipts can be found in cookbooks of the time. The process, while not difficult, was lengthy. Mashed ripe persimmons were combined with wheat bran; the mixture was shaped into large loaves to be baked. Later, the bread was broken into a barrel; water and molasses for sweetening were added, and the mixture was set aside to ferment before bottling.[52] Catherine Edmondston, visiting a slave cabin, saw "some loaves of Persimmon bread standing on edge in the fireplace." She questioned the slave. "I asked what they were for," she wrote. "'Simmon Beer Missus...gwine to put it to work [ferment] tonight. I allows its mighty healthy & the Lord knows its pretty drinking."[53]

Despite the derogatory comments from visitors regarding so-called Albemarle indolence and alcoholism, strangers traveling through North Carolina could count on a warm welcome and a willingness to share even the rudest meals. Even isolated farmers of all classes were delighted to have unexpected visitors and provided whatever food was on hand. In Perquimans County, for instance, William Byrd was offered "a mess of hominy, tossed up with rank butter and sugar." In the 1850s, Frederick Law Olmstead was welcomed to a North Carolina cabin, where he enjoyed a supper of "seven preparations of swine's flesh, two of maize, wheatcakes, broiled quails, cold roast turkey, coffee, and tea."[54]

Indeed, hospitality was a byword in North Carolina. Planters lived in "the greatest harmony imaginable," according to John Brickell. "They always treat each other with friendship and hospitality and never dispute over their liquor." As Dr. Brickell wrote of the Albemarle inhabitants, they "live after the most easy and pleasant manner of any people I have ever met with...the most hospitable." In 1771, Elkanah Watson journeyed southward. "We entered North Carolina late in the day, availing ourselves of the hospitality so characteristic of southern manners," he wrote.[55]

Dinners in the homes of well-born Carolinians were leisurely, lavish affairs, generally consisting of two large courses, followed by fruit, nuts, and wines, and served in mid-afternoon. William Attmore left a drawing (fig. 10) that illustrated a dinner he enjoyed in New Bern. In the first course, he ate roast venison and turkey, boiled codfish with "peeled Eggs wrapped in Linen



Dinner Table in New Bern, North Carolina
From William Attmore's Diary in the R. B. Huske Papers, Southern Historical Collection
the Library of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Figure 10. Dinner table in New Bern, from William Attmore's Diary, 1787, in the R. B. Huske Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Libraries, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Photograph courtesy of Tryon Palace Restoration Complex, New Bern, North Carolina.

till wanted," boiled chicken and ham. The second course featured boiled ham, turnips, potatoes, cabbage, toasted (or roasted) partridge, cup custards, boiled chicken and beef, oysters, "bird pie," and roast turkey.[56] In 1819, President James Monroe visited Edenton, where he was honored with an evening upper and grand ball. Lizzie Montgomery remembered how these evenings were arranged:

> The arrangement for the supper at large balls was about as this, a long table was well supplied with several kinds of meats, fowls, and oysters, if in season, breads, rolls, biscuits, pickles, hot coffee and tea; except [for] chicken salad, no salads were known of or used....The table containing the sweets was artistically set and arranged, with a fancy center peice of tier of glass [fig. 11] or china salvas,

the largest at the bottom and so on to a small one on top, on which were placed alternately fruits, apples, oranges, jelly made of hogs-foot, syllabub, large pound, fruit and sponge cakes beautifully iced were placed on the table, generally at the corners, on the sides were piles of snow balls and Naples biscuit [she describes the latter as "cake boiled in long, narrow shape, ices and piled up as if making a pen for an enclosure"], also cheese cakes, nuts, raisins, dried figs, and if in season, frozen custard, fruit cream, lemon sherbet, etc.[57]

Figure 11. Pyramid, lead glass, English, 1740-50. Dimensions not recorded. MESDA acc. 3990.1-11. This pyramid—an earlier version of Lizzie Montgomery's "tier of glass" - has four graduated stands, or tazzas, three patty pans, three jelly glasses, and a top glass.

Figure 12. Side chair, attributed to Edenton, 1755-75. Mahogany with yellow pine. HOA 37 1/4", WOA 20 1/8". Private collection, MRFS-8483. This chair is one of only two known Chowan River basin mahogany chairs that cannot be attributed to the Edenton school of cabinetmaking.

Inventories of well-to-do Carolinians attest to the narratives above. In the Albemarle region as early as the 1680s, estates included pewter, silver, and fine tablecloths and napkins. Eighteenth-century inventories listed an array of silver, fine china, elaborate tea services, mahogany chairs (fig. 12) and dining tables (fig. 13), cut glass, linens, gaming tables (fig. 14), cards, chess sets, and musical instruments. They all point to a lifestyle that allowed time for leisurely pursuits and entertainments.[58]

Figure 13. Dining table, attributed to Edenton, 1750-75. Mahogany with oak gate frame, yellow pine inner frame. HOA 27 3/8", WOA 48", DOA (open) 51 5/8". Private collection, MRF S-3749. Six-leg dining tables were fairly common forms in southeast Virginia and northeast North Carolina. Claw-foot examples, however, were rare. This table is attributed to the Edenton school.

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Figure 14. Gaming table, attributed to Edenton, 1750-75. Mahogany with walnut gate frame, red oak inner frame. HOA 27 3/8", WOA 30 3/4", DOA 15 1/2". MESDA acc. 2720. This table, attributed to the Edenton school, is one of a pair.

Slaves fared less well, often having little more than a subsistence diet; this remained static over time. Early in the eighteenth century, John Lawson had noted that African-American slaves were given nothing but Indian corn and salt. Janet Schaw provided more details in 1776, observing, "The allowance for a Negro is a quart of Indian corn per day, and a little piece of land which they cultivate much better than their master. There they rear hogs and poultry, sow calabashes, etc., and are better provided for in every thing than the poorer white people." And eighty years later, slave diet remained basically the same, according to Frederick Law Olmstead: "Generally, the slaves were well provided for—always allowed a sufficient quantity of meal, and generally of pork—were permitted to raise pigs and poultry and in summer, could always grow as many vegetables as they wanted."[59]

Behind the elegant world created by the Albemarle gentry stood the mistress of the house. Trained from girlhood to supervise a manor house with its surrounding support buildings and a large staff of servants, she planned and managed the system needed to carry out such a display. Her responsibilities were enormous, her knowledge formidable. Part of that knowledge was an awareness of proper food and entertaining. Plantation wives planned bills of fare, relying on handwritten receipt books, often inherited from their own mothers, or recipes gathered from friends, just as women do today. In her journal, for instance, Catherine Edmondston noted, "Was very busy all day...copying receipts. Such nice ones! Chocolate puddings! Soup a la Reine! French ratafia, etc., etc., which I have been years in collecting."[60] Mrs. Edmondston also mentioned making blackberry wine, different sorts of catsups, pickles, preserves, tomato paste, and brandied peaches.[61] Sometimes these women struggled with their recipes. Jane Blair, a relative of Edenton's Iredell family, apparently had some problems with a batch of marmalade. In a letter to her daughter, she wrote, "I have made the marmalade but I fear it will not be good the sugar is too dark & tho I put two pound more sugar than oranges there was so much dirt in it that I could not boil it high enough without running the risque of burning it the syrup was quite a candy when the oranges were put in."[62]

Published cookbooks were also used. Hannah Glasse, Mary Randolph, Sarah Rutledge, and Alexis Soyer were among the popular cookbook writers of the period. In her journal, Catherine Edmondston described the preparation of "a marvelous cake" intended for her in-laws' golden wedding anniversary, "as rich as all my cookery books can make it....I have succeeded in keeping the icing smooth and white & am more proud of my chef d'oevre than was ever Eude or Soyer."[63] "Eude" was Louis Eustache Eude, a famous London chef, who had previously cooked for the French king Louis XVI. Eude was best noted for his 1813 cookbook, *The French Cook: or The Art of Cookery Developed in All its Various Branches*. Alexis Soyer was another French chef that immigrated to England. In 1855, he published *A Shilling Cookery for the People*. As the above quotations imply, and published cookbooks notwithstanding, Albemarle gentry women had specialties of their own, certain delicacies in which they took pride.

On larger plantations, cooking was accomplished in kitchens detached from the main house. The reasons were varied: the intense heat generated by the huge fires that were kept burning; cooking odors; noise; the possibility of fire; an increase in insects and other vermin; and the obvious class distinction between slave and master. The heavier tasks surrounding meal preparations were handled by cooks, usually black women, who were highly prized commodities.[64] Cooking at open fires in huge fireplaces, and directed by their plantation mistresses, who often sat in the kitchen and read out the recipes, these African-American servants turned out mouth-watering fare that would rival any that we know today.

The cook's job was a backbreaking effort. Up before dawn to establish the fire that had been banked the previous night, she faced hours of preparations before the big meal of the day could be served. To make a cake, for instance, cooks had to pulverize sugar – it came in loaves or cones – grind spices, free the flour from possible bugs, beat egg yolks with straw rods (the modern egg beater was a late nineteenth-century invention) until they "get so thick as to be of the consistence of boiled custard," and so on.[65]

Figure 15. Detail of the fireplace in Criss Cross Hall at MESDA, MRFS 17,664. This photograph illustrates several of the tools necessary for open-hearth cooking, including two pots, a three-legged pan, a long-handled shovel, and a ratchet.

The cook performed chores we could never imagine. "Stick your pig just above the breast-bone, run your knife to the heart, when it is dead put it in cold water for a few minutes," began one receipt in an old cookbook.[66] She knew techniques we would never consider. Making yeast, the type of fire needed for a certain dish, the proper method of heating, then baking in a brick oven are all concepts that have been lost within the last hundred years.

She handled tools that are seen today as quaint collectibles. Essential for open-hearth cooking (fig. 15) were such things as cranes, hooks of different kinds that were used to hang pots, dutch ovens, trivets, dripping pans, reflector ovens, a hoe for baking hoecakes in front of the fire, and long-handled tools, which included frying pans, spoons, skimmers, ladles, and meat forks. Kitchens on wealthier plantations might have had andirons fitted with hooks to hold an iron spit, turned by a jack that was operated by a draft created by the fire or by weighted chains that were wound up like a clock. Jacks were attached to the spit to turn it automatically, thus freeing the cook for other food preparation. A long-handled toaster and a salamander, used to brown foods, were other utensils that could be found in kitchens of the period. Cooking equipment was made from a variety of metals including cast and forged iron, tin, bell-metal, bronze, copper, and brass.

Albemarle inventories as early as the last quarter of the seventeenth century indicate that the region had well-equipped kitchens. There were furnishings that included andirons and spits; gridirons and other iron pieces, brass skillets, kettles, ladles, pudding pans, as well as a mortar (fig. 16) made of "Lignum vitoo." Regional inventories from the eighteenth century show cooking equipment as limited as that of William Bray, with its "4 iron pots and two frying pans," to John Campbell's, in which some 150 pieces of kitchen furniture were listed, grouped according to the metal from which they were made. A fish kettle, three Dutch ovens (two of tin, one of iron), a "flower drudger," griddles, a chafing dish, and a coffee mill were among the items listed.[67]

North Carolina's unique mode of life persisted into the nineteenth century. Although abundant natural resources made possible by fertile earth contributed to an ample food supply, geographic conditions and rural isolation in the region slowed the early nineteenth-century industrialization which brought sweeping changes in cooking processes elsewhere in this country. Iron cookstoves, for example, began appearing in southern cities as early as 1829; in the Albemarle, hearth cooking remained the norm. The lifestyle stayed more informal, with less rigid class structure than in Virginia and South Carolina. Hospitality remained important. In the Albemarle region,

Figure 16. Mortar and pestle, attributed to eastern North Carolina, possibly walnut. Dimensions not recorded. Private collection, MRF-S 16,933.

those who had accumulated wealth had "time for leisure and education. A refinement in manners was an ultimate consequence."[68] Customs involving dining and entertainment fashionable during the Federal Period remained basically unchanged as the century progressed.

For many North Carolinians, the Civil War put an end to the pleasant way of living developed by the region's gentry. Catherine Edmondston, the Halifax woman quoted so often herein, felt these changes deeply. In February 1865 as the war drew to its inevitable conclusion, the Edmondstons celebrated their wedding anniversary, and Mrs. Edmondston left a poignant entry in her journal:

> Mr. E insisted on opening one of our few remaining fine dry old sherry with its rich bouquet and nutty flavour carried us back to Peace & to the blessings we then enjoyed, brought back visions of after dinner merriment, of a long polished Mahogany table, of our cut glass decanters circulating in their silver coasts through a wilderness of beautiful fruit & fine nuts, of hearty & innocent mirth, of laughter & song, as we smiled over the reminiscence came the memory of many who once joined us, whose voices we shall hear no more....O, how heartily did we both re-echo the toast "to our wedding day!" may we celebrate it in Peace! God grant it![69]

From the Native Americans who welcomed Thomas Hariot and his compatriots during their exploration of the Albemarle region; to the Virginia colonists who blended indigenous food and Indian farming methods with their own traditions, immigrating overland to settle "to the southward"; to Africans whose exuberant cooking style ultimately dominated the eating habits of the South, one sees how foodways in the Albemarle took on a regional dimension. This overview has focused generally on already published sources such as William Attmore's diary and Henry Bernard's correspondence, along with account books, inventories, and private papers from the region. However, there is still a motherlode of as-yet unpublished information on North Carolina food customs waiting to be tapped. The state archives at Raleigh, as well as manuscript departments in a number of universities have primary material that should be studied, and there is probably more in private hands. Examining local journals and letters, wills and inventories, and especially hand-written receipt books, can also provide further documentation on Albemarle foodways that in time will lead to more published studies exploring this region's important culinary history and traditions.

1. David B. & Alison M. Quinn, eds., *The First Colonists: Documents on the Planting of the First English Settlements in North America*, 1548-1590 (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, 1982), 7.

2. Quinn, *First Colonists*, 7.

3. Quinn, *First Colonists*, 8.

4. Quinn, *First Colonists*, 22.

5. Richard Beale Davis, Intellectual Life in the Colonial South, 1585-63 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1978), 106.

6. Thomas Hariot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New found Land in Virginia*, London, 1590. (facsimile, Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, 1966); Nancy Carter Crump, *Hearthside Cooking: An Introduction to Virginia Plantation Cuisine, Including Bills of Fare, Tools and Techniques, and Original Recipes with Adaptations for Modern Fireplaces and Kitchens* (McLean, Va.: EPM, 1986), 32- 33.

7. Quinn, *First Colonists*, 8.

8. David B. Quinn, ed., *George Percy: Observations Gathered Out of "A Discourse of the Plantation of the Southern Colony in Virginia by the English, 1606."* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1987), 22.

9. Quinn, *George Percy*, 20.

10. Quinn, *George Percy*, 26-27.

11. Lindley S. Butler, "The Early Settlement of Carolina, Virginia's Southern Frontier," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 79, no. 1: 20.

12. Butler, "Early Settlement," 25-26; Elizabeth A. Fenn and Peter H. Wood, *Natives and Newcomers: The Way We Lived in North Carolina Before 1770* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 24-25; John Lawson, *Lawson's History of North Carolina*. London, 1714 (reprint. Richmond, Va: Garrett and Massie, 1937), 62-63.

13. Butler, "Early Settlement," 25-26; Fenn and Wood, Natives, 24-25; Lawson, *History*, 62-63.

14. Davis, *Intellectual Life*, 57.

15. Lawson, *History*, 20-23.

16. Lawson, *History*, 124.

17. Lawson, *History*, 43.

18. Lawson, *History*, 24.

19. Lawson, *History*, 119.

20. Lawson, *History*, 188.

21. Lawson, *History*, 188.

22. Lawson, History, 76.

23. See Butler, "Early Settlement," 20, 22; Fenn and Wood, *Natives*, 24-25; Lawson, *History*, 8, 62-63; Harry L. Watson, *An Independent People: The Way We Lived in North Carolina, 1770-1862* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1983), 10; Hugh T. Lefler and William S. Powell, *Colonial North Carolina: A History* (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1973), xiii-xiv; H. G. Jones, *North Carolina Illustrated, 1524-1984* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 57; Alan D. Watson, *Society in Colonial North Carolina* (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, 1975), 8; Catherine W. Bishir, Carl R. Lounsbury, and Ernest H. Wood III, *Architects and Builders in North Carolina: A History of the Practice of Building* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990): 49-50. The unpretentiousness of North Carolina's elite is further illustrated through a request made in 1817 by James Johnston. Johnston, who had just completed the construction of his plantation house near Edenton (Hayes Plantation) wrote his New York agent, asking help in selecting furniture for his new house. "It is unnecessary for me to say that I wish them of the plainest and neatest kind and not in the extreme of the fashion," he said. "A man by appearing very different from his neighbors is more apt to excite their ridicule and perhaps envy than their esteem and respect—you know very well what will suit the meridian of Carolina and I don't wish to be much out of the latitude." James C. Johnston to Joseph Blunt, letter, 15 July 1817, Hayes Collection, Southern Historical Collection, Chapel Hill. Quoted in Bishir, *Architects*, 57-58. The author would like to thank Marshall Bullock for providing this reference.

24. Lawson, *History*, 80.

25. Evangeline W. Andrews, ed., *Journal of a Lady of Quality: Being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the Years 1774-1776* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1923), 174.

26. John Brickell, M. D., The Natural History of North Carolina. Dublin, 1737 (reprint. Murfreesboro, N. C.: Johnson Publishing Co., 1968), 38.

27. Mark Catesby, *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands....*1 (London, 1731), 151.

28. Harriet Martineau, *Society in America*. 4th edition (New York: Saunders and Otley, 1837), vol. 1, 301-302.

29. Beth G. Crabtree and James W. Patton, eds., *"Journal of a Secesh Lady": The Diary of Catherine Ann Devereux Edmondston, 1860-1866*. (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, 1979), 19-20. Mrs. Edmonston's journal provides a firsthand look at life in the Albemarle region in the years before and during the Civil War.

30. Crabtree, *Journal*, 243-44.

31. Robert Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia in Four Parts* 4 (London: R. Parker, 1704), 292.

32. Catesby, *Natural*, 152.

33. Brickell, *Natural*, 80.

34. Catesby, *Natural*, 152.

35. Louis B. Wright, ed., *The Prose Works of William Byrd of Westover* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), 57.

36. Bernard C. Steiner, ed., "The South Atlantic States in 1833. As Seen by a New Englander: Being a Narrative of a Tour Taken by Henry Barnard, Principal of St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland (1866-1867)," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 13, no. 4 (Dec. 1918): 344.

37. Lawson, *History*, 165.

38. Cameron Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

39. It should be noted that Brickell lifted large sections of his text directly from John Lawson. While Brickell never credited Lawson as his source, other writers of the period, such as Mark Catesby, acknowledged their debt to the earlier writer. Apparently William Byrd also drew on Lawson for portions of his *Natural History*. Lawson, *Natural*, 168; Brickell, Natural, 237.

40. Brickell, *Natural*, 232-33.

41. Wright, *Prose*, 57.

42. Wright, *Prose*, 184. Byrd's supercilious attitude was shared by many of his Virginian contemporaries, who disparaged the character of North Carolinians in general, and it may have colored his reporting. In 1765, for example, an Anglican minister wrote, "The manners of North Carolinians in General are Vile and Corrupt....and how can it be otherwise? The People are compos'd of

the Out Casts of all the other Colonies. Lefler and Powell, *Colonial*. The planter aristocracy of Virginia was contemptuous of North Carolina planters who did not share the same regard for material possessions. They viewed Carolinians as lazy, contented to eke out a living off the land rather than make any effort to develop their holdings or raise their standard of living. John Lawson had commented on this 1709: "I must confess I never saw one Acre of Land managed as it ought to be in Carolina . . . were they as negligent in their Husbandry in Europe as they are in Carolina, their Land would produce nothing but Weeds and Straw. Lawson, *History*, 75.

43. Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia...From Whence is Inferred a Short View of Maryland and North Carolina*....London, 1724 (reprint edition edited by Richard Morton. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956), 86; Lawson, *History*, 88.

44. Wright, *Prose*, 62.

45. Brickell, *Natural*, 33.

46. Wright, *Prose*, 62.

47. William Attmore, "Journal of a Tour to North Carolina, 1787," in *James Sprunt Historical Publications* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1922), 41-43.

48. Lizzie Wilson Montgomery, *Sketches of Old Warrenton North Carolina*, Raleigh, N. C., 1924 (reprint Spartanburg, S. C.: The Reprint Company, 1984), 18-21.

49. George Blair Day Book, Edenton, North Carolina, 22 Nov. 1771-9, May 1772; Miscellaneous Albemarle Region estate inventories, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, Archives and Records Section.

50. Brickell, *Natural*, 38.

51. Beverley, *History*, 130; Jones, *Present*, 208, n. 135.

52. As an example, see Mrs. A. P. Hill, *Mrs. Hill's New Cook Book*....(New York: Carleton, 1872), 342.

53. Crabtree, *Secesh Lady*, 22.

54. Wright, *Prose*, 66; Frederick Law Olmstead, *The Cotton Kingdom*, edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), 139.

55. Brickell, *Natural*, 30, 36; Winslow C. Watson, ed., *Men and Times of the Revolution; or, Memories of Elkanah Watson, Including His Journals of Travels in Europe and America From the Year 1777 to 1842*, 2nd. ed. (New York: Dana and Company, 1857), 44.

56. Attmore, "Journal."

57. Montgomery, *Sketches*, 53.

58. Miscellaneous eighteenth-century Albemarle region inventories, Raleigh, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, Archives and Records Section.

59. Lawson, *History*, 76; Andrews, *Journal*, 176-77; Olmstead, *Cotton*, 79. See also Crabtree, *Secesh Lady*, 307.

60. Crabtree, *Secesh Lady*, 405-406.

61. Crabtree, *Secesh Lady*, 9-10, 408.

62. Charles E. Johnson Collection, 1773-86. Thanks to James C. Jordan III for providing this information.

63. Crabtree, *Secesh Lady*, 19.

64. For example, see 1810 correspondence between St. George Tucker and his daughter Frances, regarding the expense of buying a cook. Brown, Tucker, Coalter Papers, 65/85, Archives Division, Swem Library, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va. Also see the letter of E. N. Noland, 14 November 1849, in which she tells her sister, Ella Mackenzie, about the retention of a slave cook during the dispersal of a family estate. "If she had been put up to the highest bidder, such bidding never would have been known in this part of the world." Ella Noland Mackenzie Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Chapel Hill, N. C., quoted in Richard J. Hooker, ed., *A Colonial Plantation Cookbook. The Receipt Book of Harriott Pinckney Horry, 1770* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1984). See also fictionalized accounts such as Uncle Tom's Cabin, Flower de Hundred, and others.

65. Crump, *Hearthside*, 37; Eliza Leslie, *Seventy-Five Receipts for Pastry, Cakes, and Sweet-Meats*, 3rd edition (Boston: Hunter and Francis, 1830), 45.

66. Hannah Glasse, *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*....London, 1796 (facsimile with intro. by Fanny Cradock, Hamden, Conn: Archon Books, 1971), 18.

67. Pasquotank County Estate Records, 1726, William Bray CR075.508, Box 12, Bertie County Estate Records, 1781, John Campbell, Raleigh: Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, Archives and Records Section.

68. Guion G. Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina: A Social History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 59.

69. Crabtree, *Secesh Lady*, 669.

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